Bibliographia

Studies in Book History and Book Structure
1750–1900

EDITED BY MICHAEL SADLEIR

CANCELS

Bibliographia

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CANCELS

Robert William

by

R. W. CHAPMAN

With Eleven Facsimiles in Collotype

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PREFACE

IT will be apparent to the reader that my first-hand knowledge of Cancels is mainly derived from a study of English books produced in the age of Johnson. Fortunately, neither the limitation of my knowledge, nor the limitation of the series to the period 1750–1900, seriously affects the validity or the interest, such as it is, of this discussion here offered. Earlier Cancels seem to be similar in motive and in execution, though less frequent and less interesting than they became in our period. Later there was some development in technique, but the interest and importance of Cancels remained substantially the same.

I hope that no bibliographer, or novice in bibliography, will be deterred from this engaging study by the difficulty of following written descriptions or of visualizing the constitution of a sheet. It is not easy to remember the relation of leaves or the incidence of watermarks; but it is very easy to fold a piece of paper into the likeness of an octavo sheet, to number the leaves or the pages, and then, by unfolding the paper, to make a map representing the flat sheet or the type from which it is printed. The use of this simple aid will quickly

dissipate the mysteries of the printer's craft, which is really not mysterious.

Some ambiguity, however, does arise from loose application of the terms *cancel*, *cancelled leaf*, and the like. When a bookseller catalogues a copy of a book as "having the cancelled leaves," does he mean that it has the leaves which were (normally) cancelled, or that it has the leaves which replaced them? Again, if a "cancelled leaf" *survives*, it survives because it escaped cancellation; it should, perhaps, rather be called an uncancelled leaf. To escape this real awkwardness, I made bold to coin the terms (*folium*) *cancellans* for the new or corrected leaf and (*folium*) *cancellandum* for the leaf intended to be excised and replaced (or *cancellatum*, if the operation is regarded as complete).* But where the context precludes ambiguity, I follow the practice of printers and call the *cancellans* simply *cancel*.

It may, I fear, be not superfluous to warn the reader that I use the word *substitute* in one way only. I say that a printer *substitutes A for B*, and that *A is substituted for B*; I do not permit myself to say that *B is substituted by A* or that *B is substituted* (absolutely, that is, *replaced*).

The substance of this little book is already to be found in a number of brief articles contributed to

* These terms have received countenance in the Supplement now in preparation to the Oxford Dictionary.

The Library. But I have tried to simplify the technical problems by fuller explanation, and I have added a large number of illustrations. My debt to the acknowledged masters—Pollard, Greg, McKerrow, Wise—is greater than I have expressed. In picking up these trifles I have been helped by more friends than I can here thank; but I owe most to my own indolent habit of turning —rather than of reading—the pages of my books.

R. W. C.

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I

AUTHOR'S CORRECTIONS

FROM the time when an author's manuscript is committed to the press, to the time when he prepares for a second edition, he or his publisher can make alterations in various ways; and different stages in this process may be distinguished. First comes proof-correction, which ends when a sheet is finally passed by the author and the formes are put on the press. This is, of course, by far the most important stage; but for the most part it is buried from our sight. It is doubtless rather a good than an evil that most authors' manuscripts, and almost all their proofs, have perished; and we may regret that in a self-conscious and commercial age both have a value, actual or potential, and tend to be preserved. The second stage is "stop-press" correction, the frequency of which, especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, has added seriously, since its discovery, to the editor's burdens. The third stage is reached when sheets already printed off are altered by addition, deletion, or substitution; and of this stage the chief element is what is known as

cancellation. The other important element is the printing of *Errata*, *Faults Escaped*, *Corrigenda*, or whatever, whether on a blank (or partly blank) leaf of the book as printed, or on a leaf or "slip" added thereto. *Errata* are still a normal incident of book-production; they are, and perhaps always were, more frequent than cancels. But they are less interesting; in the first place because they are less elusive (though *errata* may be lacking in many copies, they are unlikely to escape editorial notice), in the second place because the original text did not demand suppression.*

Correction with the pen was not often, perhaps, applied to a whole edition; but there are examples. In most copies, probably in all copies, of the Duchess of Newcastle's *Life* of her Duke, 1667, a line on page 9 has been heavily deleted. The more sophisticated method of stamping with type—and even of "scratching and stamping" (*e.g.* to convert *blot* into *plot*)—is common to-day.

Corrections made at press, cancellations, and

* When no place was available for *errata* in a book as originally planned, a slip was, and is, more often inserted than a whole leaf. Why? Not, I think, because a slip is easier to paste, but because it is more arresting, and because it can be placed in a prominent position (*e.g.* facing the first page of text) without seeming to interrupt the continuity of a book. (A leaf near the beginning of a book, with *errata* printed to face the text, would have an awkwardly blank recto.)

errata are together but a small part of the total process of correction. They owe their importance, such as it is, to the fact that evidence survives. The survival, with all its complications, may be deplored; but there is no help for it. Once it is known that copies of the same edition of a book exhibit variation, the conscientious editor cannot rest till he has seen them; the scrupulous or ambitious collector cannot rest till he is assured what is a perfect copy and a "real first," and that he has it or lacks it.

The complications are serious indeed. In early times, when the author went daily to the printing-house in person, the number of corrections made at press might be considerable; a given sheet may be printed on one side from an uncorrected forme and later perfected from a corrected forme; and the sheets were collated without discrimination. Even when the facts are all known, it may be impossible to say that one copy of a book represents the first state of the type (as passed for press), or that another copy represents the author's final satisfaction.

The changes effected by cancellation are, on average, more important than the changes made at press; for it costs more to print a cancel than to stop the press and alter the type. But since cancellation normally involves destruction of what is cancelled, the resulting embarrassment is less

serious. It is, however, more serious than was until lately suspected. There is, I repeat, no help for it. I have written articles on cancels, and now I am asked to write a book on cancels. Bibliographers may sigh at the abundance of their material, but they must explore it; and such is the power of human curiosity that they are impelled to aggravate it.

II

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CANCELS

BY a *cancel* I understand a leaf or leaves (sometimes part of a leaf) intended to be substituted for the corresponding part of a book as originally printed. An additional leaf, such as was sometimes printed for insertion in a sheet, or between sheets, is not strictly a cancel.*

A sheet found to be so faulty as to defy partial amendment, and therefore reprinted as a whole, would properly be said to be cancelled. But in that case the original sheet would in all probability be destroyed,† and the substituted sheet would at once take its place. An important feature of what is generally known as cancellation is that the process was not immediate but was performed in two distinct stages. For bibliography, and for historical criticism, the words *intended to be substituted* are an important element in my definition. If the correction or afterthought embodied in a cancel had been immediately substituted and the original

* But if two leaves were printed to replace one, the two leaves would properly be called a cancel.

† For an example see page 55.

state destroyed, then such correction or afterthought would be, for practical purposes, much on a level with proof-correction. The presence, in that event, of a cancel-leaf in a book would tell us that *something* was altered at a very late stage; and we could infer either that something called loudly for correction (though it might be no more than a "literal" misprint), or that some improvement was made which was judged important (for a cancel is more troublesome and more costly than a correction in proof). But we should have as little hope of discovering *what* was changed as we have of discovering an author's first intention in his proof-sheets. Proof-sheets are sometimes interesting, if they happen to survive; but as they are almost always lost, they are not worth hunting. Now the interest and importance of cancels lies just in this, that the discovery of the original is not a hopeless quest.

It is easy to see how this comes about. An error is discovered, or an improvement conceived, it may be while a sheet is printing. In that case the press is stopped, the type is altered, and the rest of the impression is of the second state. If the correction is of sufficient importance, a cancel is printed to replace the faulty leaf in the uncorrected copies. Much more often the correction is made when the impression of that sheet is complete. The leaf is then reprinted (it may have to

be re-set) for all copies. But it was impracticable to effect the substitution forthwith. Books were not folded till they came to be bound; they were kept in flat sheets. Now you cannot remove a leaf from a sheet either easily or neatly until the sheet is folded and a paper-knife can be used along the fold. The printer's practice, accordingly, was to send the sheet intact with the rest to the warehouse and to add the cancel-leaf to the parcel for subsequent use. We shall see that, from various causes, there was some chance that sooner or later a copy would be bound not, as was intended, with the cancel and without the original, but either with the original and without the cancel or (better still) with both.

The interest and importance of cancels depends, therefore, on two things. The first is the motive for cancellation. This might be no more than that the printer's or the publisher's or the author's conscience shrank from a gross or a ludicrous misprint. In fact, the majority of cancels which have been accounted for are the result of a trifle. But there is a chance, and not a bad one, that the reason was something more interesting. The cancelled original may be seditious or libellous; it may be indelicate; it may be an indiscretion, like the leaves of *Lyrical Ballads* which would have betrayed the secret of authorship;* it may be

* See page 55.

something which an author's afterthought transmuted from brass to gold, or something that he botched and spoiled.

Secondly, there is always a fair probability that vigilance may relieve us from idle conjecture by the detection of an uncancelled copy. To know that something was cancelled may be useless knowledge, or, since it provokes to vain surmises, worse than useless. The discovery of the original at least allays irritation, and it may have a positive value.

Now the original state of a cancelled leaf, if it bears no external evidence of the intended cancellation,* can hardly ever be detected except by someone who is looking for it. The cancel, on the other hand, which in itself has little interest, may be found by anyone, in any copy of the book. And as soon as it is made known to scholars, collectors, and booksellers, that a certain leaf of an important book is a cancel, search will be made in the hope of discovering an uncancelled copy. This may be well illustrated from a recent example. It had long been known† to a few Johnsonians that there were cancels in the first edition of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, and anyone with an elementary

* See page 29.

† From Dr. Birkbeck Hill's article on Boswell's Proof sheets, in *Johnson Club Papers*, 1899, or from Prof. Tinker's edition of Boswell's Letters, 1924.

knowledge of the matter could readily discover what leaves were cancelled, for their signatures betray them. But for many years this promising clue was ignored.* In 1927 I published an article† on the subject. I had not seen the leaves as originally printed, and had no reason to believe that they survived; but (like Birkbeck Hill before me) I had examined the (revised) proof-sheets in Mr. R. B. Adam's collection, which show what the changes were. In 1929 Dr. Pottle published his bibliography of Boswell, where the facts are again set forth. The result was that copies were examined by interested owners, and one copy was promptly found which contains both the uncancelled leaves and the cancels which should have replaced them. It was sold in a glare of publicity for an enormous price. *Sic nos non nobis.*

Descriptive bibliography is not in itself a very important study. It is important only as it is ancillary to historical and literary criticism. But it is not for the bibliographer to decide what is of value to his betters; his business is to record the facts. He can render no more useful service than by detecting and recording cancels in order to the discovery of the uncancelled states. It has

* Yet the question whether *give* or *gve* was the earlier reading in Vol. I, p. 135, was debated *ad nauseam.*

† In the *London Mercury;* reprinted in *Johnson and Boswell Revised,* Oxford, 1928.

come, I think, to be generally recognized that no description of a book is complete which does not register any ascertainable cancels.

I would add that the ore, such as it is, lies near the surface and is plentiful. In the eighteenth century (the only period with which I claim familiarity) it is my impression that one first edition in three is likely to contain one or more cancels. To detect these is an amusing game for any collector who likes to "collate perfect" his own books. Keep an eye on the inner margin as you turn the leaves, and a "stub," or a trace of pasting, will be pretty easily spotted. The discovery, if it go no further, should at least be noted (but in pencil, I beg) on a flyleaf.

III

THE PRINTING AND PLACING OF CANCELS—SIMPLE DELETION

IF the need for a cancel were discovered while a sheet was printing, or soon after, the cancel would probably be printed from the same type, *mutatis mutandis*. But it was for long the practice to distribute type almost as soon as a sheet was perfected; and so it was very often necessary to re-set. The re-setting would be line-for-line, except in so far as the changes might preclude this; and therefore a cancel may look as if it were from original type, which closer scrutiny will show to have been re-set. Re-setting might introduce fresh error, which collation with the *cancellandum* (if available) will reveal.

In printing a single-leaf cancel it would be possible to give it a wide inner margin, so that the leaf could be inserted by folding it round adjacent leaves. It could then be sewn as part of the sheet (not so, of course, if the book were already sewn) and the use of paste avoided. This method of providing what may be called a *turn-over* was not uncommonly used for plates and for

binder's end-papers, and it was sometimes used for cancels. I was aware of the possibility before I found a clear example, and I doubt if many will be found; but the possibility must be reckoned with. In Congreve's *Amendments of Mr. Collier's False and Imperfect Citations*, 1698, octavo, D6 was cancelled (not in all copies, for the correction was made at press, but in most copies, as the *Advertisement* informs us). The leaf was removed except for a stub, which (in my copy) shows between D5 and the new D6. But the cancel D6 was not pasted to this stub; it had its own turn-over, which shows between D2 and D3. I call this extra margin a *turn-over* to distinguish it from a *stub*, which it exactly resembles. A stub is all that remains (if anything remains) of a *cancellatum*.

The use of the turn-over, even if it was rare, is of some importance; for it invalidates the notion, often entertained, that every ridge of paper is a stub to which a cancel was attached. Any stub which does not appear to be attached by paste to either of the adjacent leaves should be suspected, and the leaf with which it is conjugate* should be examined; it may turn out to be itself a cancel, in which case the "stub" is no stub.

* Two leaves are conjugate which have a common inner margin. In an octavo of eight leaves A1 is conjugate with A8, A2 with A7, and so on (the sum of the signatures = $n + 1$, where n is the number of leaves).

could not enter, is preſerved by the care of the family of Gordon; but the body of the church is a maſs of fragments.

A paper was here put into our hands, which deduced from ſufficient authorities the hiſtory of this venerable ruin. The church of Elgin had, in the inteſtine tumults of the barbarous ages, been laid waſte by the irruption of a highland chief, whom the biſhop had offended; but it was gradually reſtored to the ſtate, of which the traces may be now diſcerned, and was at laſt not deſtroyed by the tumultuous violence of Knox, but more ſhamefully ſuffered to dilapidate by deliberate robbery and frigid indifference. There is ſtill extant, in the books of the council, an order, of which I cannot remember the date, but which was doubtleſs iſſued after the Reformation, directing that the lead, which covers the two cathedrals of Elgin and Aberdeen, ſhall be taken

PLATE 1*a*. (SEE PAGE 49)

away, and converted into money for the ſupport of the army. A Scotch army was in thoſe times very cheaply kept; yet the lead of two churches muſt have born ſo ſmall a proportion to any military expence, that it is hard not to believe the reaſon alleged to be merely popular, and the money intended for ſome private purſe. The order however was obeyed; the two churches were ſtripped, and the lead was ſhipped to be ſold in Holland. I hope every reader will rejoice that this cargo of ſacrilege was loſt at ſea.

Let us not however make too much haſte to deſpiſe our neighbours. Our own cathedrals are mouldering by unregarded dilapidation. It ſeems to be part of the deſpicable philoſophy of the time to deſpiſe monuments of ſacred magnificence, and we are in danger of doing that deliberately, which the Scots did not do but in the unſettled ſtate of an imperfect conſtitution.

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Let us not however make too much haſte to deſpiſe our neighbours. There is now, as I have heard, a body of men, not leſs decent or virtuous than the Scotiſh council, longing to melt the lead of an Engliſh cathedral. What they ſhall melt, it were juſt that they ſhould ſwallow.

This last was cancelled by the Author & a declared enemy to Reform of this last Paragraph Lichfield is the Cathedral alluded to

Thoſe

If two or more cancels were wanted at the same time they could be printed together; and it would be natural and thrifty, though not necessary, to impose two, or four, leaves with the usual margins, so that when folded they would have no extra margin for turn-over. And there could be no possibility of extra margin if, to avoid expense, an incomplete sheet or "oddment" of the book, still unprinted, were used to print the cancels. The first or last section of an octavo might require six, not eight, leaves; the two blanks might be used for cancels. In such a case it would be convenient to use, not the last two leaves, but the outer or the inner fold (*e.g.* U1 and U8, or U4 and U5); for then the cancels could be removed after folding, leaving six leaves which could be sewn without pasting; whereas if U7 and U8 were removed U1 and U2 must *themselves* be pasted to hold them in place. The watermarks often show that this was in fact done.

Two *cancellanda* have survived in my own books because the cancels were not printed separately but were hidden in other sheets. In my copy* of the second edition of Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides*, 1785, octavo, F5 has escaped, though torn

* This is the copy described in my edition of the *Journey* and *Tour* (Oxford, 1924), page 481, as Professor George Gordon's. He subsequently gave it to me in the interest, as he said, of inaccuracy. See Plate Ib.

nearly in half*, and the cancel, which was printed as b8 (which would otherwise have been blank) has not been moved from its place. In Lady Winchilsea's *Miscellany Poems*, 1713, octavo, the cancel for E8 was printed on Cc4, the last leaf of the book; in my copy, and in another which I have seen, both leaves have survived.†

The ordinary way of placing a cancel was to paste its inner margin to the stub of the *cancellatum*. But the practice noted above of printing two or more cancels at once, on one piece of paper, affords occasionally an alternative. Suppose that two leaves are to be cancelled in one octavo sheet (still unsewn). Then if the *cancellanda* are a pair of conjugate leaves, there need be no stubs; the pair of leaves may be removed entire and the cancel pair put in its place. Again, if the *cancellanda* are A3 and A5, stubs must be left (or A6 and A4 will need paste), but they need not be used; the cancel pair may be slipped in between the two stubs. This happened in a copy of the second edition of Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, octavo, where the cancels F3 and F5 were inserted as an unsevered pair of leaves. Again, in

* See page 29. The mutilation was at some later date skilfully mended!

† It is rash to describe as blank a leaf which one has never seen. Many blanks have been imagined by cataloguers, which never existed.

without. The organ is adorned with green and gold. Dr. Johnſon gave a ſhilling extraordinary to the clerk, ſaying, "He belongs to an honeſt church." I put him in mind, that epiſcopals were but *diſſenters* here; they were only *tolerated*. "Sir, (ſaid he,) we are here, as Chriſtians in Turkey."—He afterwards went into an apothecary's ſhop, and ordered ſome medicine for himſelf, and wrote the preſcription in technical characters. The boy took him for a phyſician.

I doubted much which road to take, whether to go by the coaſt, or by Laurence Kirk and Monboddo. I knew Lord Monboddo and Dr. Johnſon did not love each other: yet I was unwilling not to viſit his lordſhip; and was alſo curious to ſee them together *. I mentioned my doubts to Dr. Johnſon, who ſaid, he would go two miles out of his way to ſee Lord Monboddo. I therefore ſent Joſeph forward, with the following note:

"*My dear Lord*, *Montroſe*, 21 *Auguſt*.

"THUS far I am come with Mr. Samuel Johnſon. We muſt be at Aberdeen to-night. I know you do not admire him ſo much as I do; but I cannot be in this country without making

* There were ſeveral points of ſimilarity between them; learning, clearneſs of head, preciſion of ſpeech, and a love of reſearch on many ſubjects which people in general do not inveſtigate. Foote paid Lord Monboddo the compliment of ſaying, that he was "an Elzevir [or, pocket] edition of Johnſon."

making you a bow at your old place, as I do not know if I may again have an opportunity of ſeeing Monboddo. Beſides, Mr. Johnſon ſays, he would go two miles out of his way to ſee Lord Monboddo. I have ſent forward my ſervant, that we may know if your lordſhip be at home. I am ever, my dear lord,

" Moſt ſincerely yours,

" JAMES BOSWELL."

As we travelled onwards from Montroſe, we had the Grampion hills in our view, and ſome good land around us, but void of trees and hedges. Dr. Johnſon has ſaid ludicrouſly, in his " Journey," that the *hedges* were of *ſtone*; for, inſtead of the verdant *thorn* to refreſh the eye, we found the bare *wall* or *dike* interſecting the proſpect. He obſerved, that it was wonderful to ſee a country ſo diveſted, ſo denuded of trees.

We ſtopped at Laurence Kirk, where our great grammarian, Ruddiman, was once ſchoolmaſter. We reſpectfully remembered that excellent man and eminent ſcholar, by whoſe labours a knowledge of the Latin language will be preſerved in Scotland, if it ſhall be preſerved at all. Lord Gardenſton, one of our judges, collected money to raiſe a monument to him at this place, which I hope will be well executed. I know my father gave five guineas towards it. Lord Gardenſton is the proprietor of Laurence Kirk, and has encou-

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As we travelled onwards from Montroſe, we had the Grampion hills in our view, and ſome good land around us, but void of trees and hedges. Dr. Johnſon has ſaid ludicrouſly, in his "Journey," that the *hedges* were of *ſtone*; for, inſtead of the verdant thorn to refreſh the eye, we found the bare wall or dike interſecting the proſpect. He obſerved, that is was wonderful to ſee a country ſo diveſted, ſo denuded of trees.

We ſtopped at Laurence Kirk, where our great grammarian, Ruddiman, was once ſchool-maſter. We reſpectfully remembered that excellent man and eminent ſcholar, by whoſe labours a knowledge of the Latin language will be preſerved in Scotland, if it ſhall be preſerved at all. Lord Gardenſton, one of our judges, collected money to raiſe a monument to him at this place, which I hope will be well executed. I know my father gave five guineas towards it. Lord Gardenſton is the proprietor of Laurence Kirk, and has encou-

my copy* of Byron's *Manfred*, 1817, octavo, the first sheet (unsigned, but C follows, so call it B) is made up thus:—

The outer pair (the half-title and B8) and the inner pair (B4 and B5) are normal; B3 and B7 are single leaves; B2 (the title-page) and B6 are an unsevered pair of leaves, which proves, I think, that they are both cancels; B2 was originally conjugate with B7, B6 with B3. I leave it to the Byronians to interpret the facts.

I do not suppose that this insertion of an undivided double cancel, forming a pair of conjugate leaves, is at all common, though there seems no reason why it should not occur in the (exceptional) cases in which it was feasible. The possibility should be kept in mind, especially if in one sheet we find two stubs *without* signs of pasting.

If—to return to our imaginary sheet—the *cancellanda* were A2 and A5, it is obvious that the pair of cancel-leaves could not be inserted as a pair; it must be cut in two, and the single leaves inserted in the usual way.

When books were loosely cased in wrappers or boards, the insertion of cancels was often made with no attempt at concealment; the stubs are often wide and not very evenly cut. When a book

* Mr. Wise's second issue, with no quotation on the title, and with the imprint on the verso of the half-title: *A Byron Library*, 1928, p. 56.

came into the hands of a careful binder things were tidied up; as technical skill advanced, and the love of neatness grew, binders evidently took a pride in obliterating all traces of botching. In my copy of *Manfred*, for instance, there are no stubs, and the pasting is done with exquisite neatness, so that the margins are not "pinched"; until I removed the binding, and carefully separated the leaves, there was no indication that the first sheet was composite.

It may even happen that a cancel leaf, printed as part of an otherwise incomplete sheet, is in its proper place when the sheets are collated, and so need not be detached. An example is in Samuel Ireland's *Investigation of Mr. Malone's Claim to the Character of Scholar or Critic* (n.d.), an octavo in fours. The first sheet of text, A, is preceded by a^3, pp. [i]–vi. But A1 was cancelled, and the cancel was printed as a4 and needed no transposition. I discovered this by noticing that in my copy, which is uncut, the first page of the text, A1, is conjugate with the title-page [a1]. This seemed a monster, and I consulted Professor Nichol Smith, who (going one better) had an unopened copy on his shelves. In this we found, side by side, both states of A1: the original, conjugate with A4, and the cancel, conjugate with a1.

Another example is in Thomson's *Castle of Indolence*, 1748. This is a quarto consisting of ten com-

plete sheets (B—L, pages 1–80) and of three other leaves: the title, an *Advertisement* (with an *Explanation of the Obsolete Words* on its verso), and the concluding leaf of the text, page 81 (which is not signed). In bound copies the *Advertisement* leaf is variously placed, and I have never seen a blank fourth leaf. But I possess a copy in its original condition, which explains this. The title and *Advertisement* form a half-sheet, that is one pair of conjugate leaves. The last leaf of the text, and a cancel for B1, the first leaf of the text, form a second half-sheet; and this pair of leaves is wrapped round the rest of the text, so that the cancel falls into its place without detachment. The other half-sheet (title and *Advertisement*) is placed in front of the cancel. The *cancellatum* B1 was removed bodily; no stub is left to hold B4 in place. But none was needed in the first instance, because the pamphlet was not stitched but "stabbed." * When a binder came on the scene he probably severed the cancel from its fellow, and so had to paste three leaves—the cancel B1, B4, and the last leaf of text. Sometimes he cut away the *Advertisement* also, and pasted it at the end.

* That is, stitched not along the inner fold, but through the leaves at some distance from the fold, the needle piercing all the sheets at once. The modern "wire-stitching" is usually on the same principle.

Another example is of a slightly different kind. In Landor's *Citation and Examination of William Shakspeare*, 1834, duodecimo, *The Examination* ended on L12, the recto (page 239) having the last five lines of the text, the verso being blank. This leaf was replaced by M1, which concludes the *Examination* and begins the *Post-Scriptum*, and the change was conceived in time for M to be set up on the assumption that L12 would disappear. M1 is accordingly numbered 239–240. Now since M1 was *not* to be cut away, to give it a cancel-signature might only mislead; so there was no way of securing the deletion of L12, unless it had been defaced, which it was not. Accordingly, Mr. Wise reports that all copies in the original state, known to him, have both leaves. In most bound copies, however, L12 has been spotted as redundant and excised.*

In the nineteenth century it seems to have become a regular practice to avoid the use of paste by printing a four-page cancel. Thus in my copy of *Lothair*, 1870, the cancels signed "Vol. I *E3," "Vol. I *P4," and "Vol. II *E2" each consist of two leaves. It is, of course, possible that all six leaves required amendment; and it would be unnecessary to sign more than one leaf of each pair. But it is much more probable that three leaves only were altered, and that *e.g.* Vol I E3 and E6

* T. J. Wise, *A Landor Library*, 1928, page 35.

were reprinted but only one of them was altered (it might be E6, though E3 is signed).

Modern methods may be illustrated by what is probably the most elaborate and systematic cancellation ever put in practice—that by which copies of the Book of Common Prayer have been altered on the accession of a sovereign. I select the Oxford "pica 12mo" as altered in 1910. In this book, though it is called a 12mo, the folded section contains sixteen leaves, an inner eight being "inset" into an outer eight. My knowledge of the cancels is ascertained by a printed schedule (dated 5/7/10), and is therefore not conjectural. Each cancel consists of a pair of conjugate leaves; but the schedule specifies the page containing the alteration. Thus a binder cancelling a bound copy could cut his cancel in two and use one leaf only, discarding that which contained no alteration.*

In signature B alone there are three of these four-page cancels; for example, pages 33, 34, 63 and 64 are reprinted to correct, on page 64, the names of the King and the Royal Family. And this was done twice in 1910; first when the title of the Heir Apparent was *Edward* Duke of *Cornwall*, and again when it became *Edward* Prince of *Wales*. On the first occasion the first page (*not* the leaf

* I am told, however, that single-leaf cancels were also printed for cancelling bound stock.

containing the change) was signed ‡; on the second it was signed †.

At the other extreme from this amplitude is the primitive practice of early times, when it was common to reprint only the line or lines containing the correction and to paste the slip over the lines to be cancelled. This was a thrifty way, and it had this advantage, that the process of cancellation could be completed at one stage, while the sheets were flat. Examples are, generally speaking, rare after 1700 (though I have often seen publishers' imprints cancelled by pasted slips, in nineteenth and twentieth century books), but I understand they are not uncommon in earlier books. The two examples which follow I owe to Mr. Percy Simpson. In Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, 1563 (the "Book of Martyrs"), the Bodleian copy has pasted slips on pages 772 and 1113. In *England's Helicon*, 1600, wrong attributions of poems (discussed light-heartedly in the preface *To the Reader*) are corrected in the same way. At H1 *S. Phil. Sidney* is corrected to *N. Breton ;* N4, *S. W. R.* (Sir Walter Raleigh) to *Ignoto* (this slip is missing in the Bodleian copy); O4 and P1, *M. F. G.* (Master Fulke Greville) to *Ignoto.*

Cancellation does not necessarily involve replacement; there were leaves which a binder might regard as simple *delenda.* Such are blank leaves (for the survival of which a collector

The foregoing account of this Publication comes from Mr. ASTLE. All I have done has been to ſuperintend the printing of it: an Office which I readily undertook, out of Reverence for the reputed Founder of Univerſity College, where I had the honour to be educated; out of reſpect for the Delegates of the Oxford Preſs, and for Mr. ASTLE; and from a wiſh to improve myſelf in the language of our Saxon anceſtors, on account of my new Dictionary of the Engliſh Language.

HERBERT CROFT.

OXFORD MUSEUM;
May, 1788.

Mr. ASTLE having converſed with ſeveral of his literary Friends on the Contents of this valuable Record, and particularly with ſome reſpectable Members of the Univerſity of Oxford, it was determined by the Delegates of the Oxford Preſs, to lay it before the Public, conſidering it a Monument which will reflect honour on the Memory of the Royal Founder of the Univerſity.

In ASSER's Life of King Alfred, Mr. WISE has printed what he called, *Teſtamentum Ælfredi Regis*; but the reader will find that it is nothing more than a very incorrect tranſlation into Latin of part of the following Will.

The public is indebted to the Rev. Mr. OWEN MANNING, well known as the editor of LYE's Dictionarium Saxonico et Gothico-Latinum, for the preſent tranſlations and for moſt of the notes.

The

should thank his stars)*; advertisement leaves (often regarded as ephemeral, and as deforming a bound copy); half-titles (for when the book was bound the half-title had done its work of protecting the title-page from dirt); directions to the binder (which were otiose, once the binder had complied); and even errata, if the corrections had been made in the text with a pen.

Sometimes we meet with thrifty expedients to avoid reprinting. In Mickle's *Lusiad*, 1776, quarto, a sheet of four leaves signed †a carries the *List of Subscribers* and (on the verso of the fourth leaf) *Errata*. It is preceded by a blank page, the title and dedication occupying three pages only. When it was desired to remove the *Subscribers*—in order, no doubt, to produce a copy for ordinary sale—the binder of one of my copies cut out the first three leaves of †a, and pasted the recto of the fourth leaf to the blank verso which had preceded †a1. In this way he suppressed the

* It is not easy to give any rational account of the pleasure which the survival of blanks undoubtedly gives to the bibliophile; yet I think it is not wholly irrational. Blank leaves, like wide and irregular margins, are things pleasing in themselves to sight and touch; but there is more in it than that. A blank leaf, like original sewing and untrimmed edges, reveals the constitution of a book as being not a mere aggregation of leaves but a series of folded sheets which were once flat. The preservation, therefore, of these original attributes flatters the historical and analytical sense.

subscribers, and preserved the *Errata*, without any fresh printing.

I have another curious example of simple deletion. In 1787 a large group of publishers combined to produce *The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D., . . . in Eleven Volumes*. The editor was Sir John Hawkins. In the same year John Stockdale in Piccadilly added the *Debates in Parliament* in two volumes and called them Volumes 12–13 of the *Works*. This no doubt annoyed the original publishers, but perhaps they could hardly have objected. Stockdale, however, went further. His title-page runs thus: *The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D., in Thirteen Volumes. Vol. XII* [*XIII*]. *London: Printed for John Stockdale*, etc. This, I think, the former publishers were entitled to resent. Thirteen volumes had *not* been printed for John Stockdale. That they did resent it I have evidence in a copy in my possession, in which the offending words *In Thirteen Volumes* are obscured by a strip of white paper pasted over them.

IV

CANCEL-SIGNATURES—DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER

CANCELS are sometimes marked by special signatures. I have noted three types: (1) An asterisk or obelus,* either attached to an ordinary signature, or alone; the latter use became common in the nineteenth century, and survives in our own time. In Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands*, 1775, octavo, the cancel for U4 is signed *U4. But this type of signature† is, I believe, very rare in the

* The appearance of a star or dagger does not necessarily imply a cancel. These signs were used also instead of "figures" (to identify the press used to print a sheet or a forme). They were used, too, to distinguish printings. Thus the second edition, 1775, of Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands* has starred signatures, distinguishing it from the first edition, of which it is an almost exact reprint; and what I take to be a reprint, from standing type, of Scott's *Halidon Hill*, 1822, has obelized signatures.

† Perhaps it was appropriated rather to an *extra* leaf or leaves than to a cancel strictly so called. In the revised edition, 1783, of the *Lives of the Poets* Johnson added, by an afterthought, two leaves to the Life of Fenton. This had ended on H6, page 108, and was followed on H7, page 109, by the Life of Gay. The two new leaves are paged 109* to *112, and page 109* is signed Vol. III *H7.

eighteenth century. In *Lothair*, 1870, octavo, I find cancels signed Vol. I *E3, Vol. I *P4, Vol. III *E2. In Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, 1791, quarto, the signatures of the cancels are enclosed within square brackets.

(2) In a work of more than one volume, a leaf will often be found signed *e.g.* "Vol. I B4." This is obviously a cancel, since "Vol. I" would normally appear on the first leaf only of each sheet (it is a guide to collation, not a guide to folding). I note in Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, 1765, octavo, Vol. III C2, Vol. III C7, Vol. III G4, Vol. III G5, etc.

(3) The commonest form of cancel-signature is a signature of ordinary *form*, *e.g.* B8, appearing on a leaf which would normally bear no signature. In an eighteenth-century octavo (in eights) the first four leaves are normally signed; earlier it was usual to sign the fifth as well; later the first and second leaves only were signed; in many modern books the first only is signed; and some modern (especially American) books have no signatures at all.

It will be seen that these signatures may serve either or both of two purposes:

(*a*) To show that the leaf is a cancel.

(*b*) To show where the cancel is to be placed.

The first object was not ordinarily important. If the cancel or cancels were loose, printed on a

separate leaf or leaves, the binder could hardly fail to find them or to see what they were for. If they were hidden, being printed as part of a sheet of the book, they might be overlooked. In that case the binder might be warned by a printed notice, or oftener, probably, by a manuscript note on the parcel;* the *cancellandum*, moreover, might be so mutilated that it would attract attention in the course of folding.†

The practice shows that the second object was the more important. For we often find that, in the same book, two cancels are signed *e.g.* B4 and C7. Of these signatures the second distinguishes the *cancellans* from the *cancellandum*, the first does not (for the *cancellandum* had the same signature B4); but both direct the binder to put the *cancellans* in the right place. The same motive is apparent in the cancel-signature of the type Vol. I B4; for without "Vol. I" the binder might excise a leaf from the wrong volume.

Note that the practice of cancel-signatures is an indication (there are others) that binders expected to be guided by signatures rather than by pagination (which, in early books especially, is less accurate than the signatures). There is a good reason for this; in handling a folded and un-

* I have seen such notes on musty parcels in the old "Delegates' Warehouse" in the Clarendon Press.

† See page 29.

opened book the binder can see the signatures much more readily than he can see the pagination.

The convenience of cancel-signatures is so obvious that it may seem surprising that they were not more generally used. But my impression is that (at least until 1820, perhaps later) cancels are oftener than not without any (distinguishing) signature, and must be detected by other evidence.

When cancels were signed, they were not always signed correctly. "Single-speech" Hamilton's *Parliamentary Logick*, 1808, is an octavo in which the first two leaves only of each sheet are signed. A cancel was printed for [D5], pages 41–42, and was erroneously signed D4. I have not seen a copy in which the original D4 was excised and the original D5 survived, but probably such a copy might be found.

Occasionally a direction about cancels was printed in the book. In Dodsley's *Collection of Poems in Four Volumes*, 1755, octavo, the last sheet of the fourth volume was made up thus: a cancel for H1 (pages 113–114), Z—[Z6] (pages 353–364); a cancel for [K6] (signed Vol. IV K6 and paged 155–156). On page 364 is printed:

> "Directions to the Binder. The first and last leaves of this sheet are to supply the cancels in sheet H and K."

A laudable but not a very valuable precaution.

For if the binder looked at the first leaf only and regarded the sheet as H—in which case he must be content to let the volume end (with a comma) on page 352 ($Y8^{v}$) and to have an unaccountable surplus of H on his hands—he might readily overlook a notice printed on $Z6^{v}$.

Mr. Percy Simpson tells me that in his copy of Godwin's *Memoirs of the Author of a Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, 1798, a notice at the end (usually, he believes, absent), directs the binder to

> "Cancel the following pages: 9, 10—29,30—71, 72—87, 88, 90—93, 94."

See also *Addendum*, p. 66.

V

OTHER PRECAUTIONS AGAINST OVERSIGHT

WE saw* that it was usually impracticable to complete the process of cancellation at one time. What precautions were taken to avert neglect and to insure the ultimate replacement of a peccant leaf by its substitute? The cancels might be placed with the sheets; and if the sheets were collated, each copy of the book might have its own cancel or cancels with it; "set-off" not infrequently shows that this in fact happened.† Alternatively the cancels might be in a separate parcel or parcels suitably labelled. When the warehouseman came to "look out" a batch of copies, the careful man would find the cancels and send the requisite number to the binder. Sometimes, as we have seen,‡ the cancels bore signatures declaring them to be cancels; and sometimes a warning was printed in some part of the book.§

* Page 7.

† *E.g.* a cancel placed at the beginning of one copy might "set off" and blot the last leaf of a second copy placed on top of the first.

‡ Pages 23, 24. § Page 26.

Pift. Let us condole the Knight; for, lambkins! we will live. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.

Changes to SOUTHAMPTON.

Enter Exeter, Bedford, *and* Weſtmorland.

Bed. FORE God, his Grace is bold to truſt theſe traitors.

Exe. They ſhall be apprehended by and by.

Weſt. How ſmooth and even they do bear themſelves,
As if allegiance in their boſoms ſate,
Crowned with faith and conſtant loyalty!

Bed. The King hath note of all that they intend,
By interception which they dream not of.

Exe. Nay, but the man that was his bedfellow,
Whom he hath lull'd and cloy'd with gracious favours;
That he ſhould for a foreign purſe ſo ſell
[8] His Sovereign's life to death and treachery!
[*Trumpets ſound.*

Enter the King, Sc[illegible]o, Cambridge, Grey, *and* [illegible]*ndants.*

K. *Henry.* Now ſi[illegible] wind fair, and we will aboard.
My Lord of *Cambridg*[illegible]my Lord of *Maſham*,
And you my gentle [illegible]ive me your thoughts:
Think you not, that [illegible] we bear with us,
Will cut their paſſage[illegible]e force of *France*;
Doing the execution [illegible]

[8] *To death and treachery.* the following editions. the quarto inſerts a line *To the lord of* Maſham!

For

Nim. You'll pay me the eight ſhillings, I won of you at betting?

Piſt. Baſe is the ſlave, that pays.

Nim. That now I will have; that's the humour of it.

Piſt. As manhood ſhall compound, puſh home.

[*Draw.*

Bard. By this ſword, he that makes the firſt thruſt, I'll kill him; by this ſword, I will.

Piſt. Sword is an oath, and oaths muſt have their courſe.

Bard. Corporal *Nim*, an thou wilt be friends, be friends; an thou wilt not, why then be enemies with me too. Pry'thee, put up.

Piſt. A noble ſhalt thou have and preſent pay,
And liquor likewiſe will I give to thee;
And friendſhip ſhall combine and brotherhood.
I'll live by *Nim*, and *Nim* ſhall live by me,
Is not this juſt? for I ſhall Suttler be
Unto the camp, and profits will accrue.
Give me thy hand.

Nim. I ſhall have my noble?

Piſt. In caſh moſt juſtly paid.

Nim. Well then, that's the humour of't.

Re-enter Quickly.

Quick. As ever you came of women, come in quickly to Sir *John:* ah, poor he is ſo ſhak'd of a burning quotidian tertian is moſt lamentable to behold. Sweet men, him.

Nim. The King hath humours on the Knight, that's the even of it.

Piſt. *Nim*, thou the right, his heart is fractured and corrobo

Nim. The King ng, but it muſt be as it may; he paſſes and careers.

Piſt.

But the further precaution might be taken of so mutilating the *cancellandum* that the *folder* would see that it was to be ejected. This would not be done with a pen; that would be a slow way, or if done quickly would blot sheets; it would be done with a knife or scissors. The survival of a *cancellandum* is in any case relatively rare, and the survival of a mutilated *cancellandum* must be (again, relatively) a very rare accident. I have seen examples enough to convince me that in the eighteenth century at least the practice of mutilation was quite common.

One example in my own possession has survived by a mistake. I found that in my copy of Johnson's *Shakespeare*, 1765 (the real first edition, not the corrected reprint of the same year), Cc2 of Volume IV* is mutilated, a triangular piece having been removed, with scissors, from the lower half of the leaf. But I could find no trace either of a cancel in other copies or of any variation in this or any edition. Later I noticed that in Volume III Cc2 *is* a cancel; it is signed Vol. III Cc2. What happened was this. The original mutilator (of one copy at least) spoiled a leaf of Volume IV instead of the corresponding leaf of Volume III. The folder of Volume IV overlooked the mutilation. The cancel led the binder to the right volume; so the *cancellandum* (perhaps *not* previously mutilated)

* Plate IIa.

was destroyed and my (wrongly) mutilated leaf escaped. Anyone who thinks that a schoolboy has defaced his book with a pair of scissors should look closer; he may be in possession of a curiosity.

VI

CANCELS AND WATERMARKS

THE detection of cancels by means of watermarks is a difficult and (except to such enthusiasts as prefer it to reading thrillers) a somewhat tedious process, for it means holding up each leaf to the light; and it is not very good for the book. Moreover, it is, as a rule, not necessary. Still, bibliographical problems that elude other tests can be solved by watermarks; and no bibliographer can afford to be quite ignorant of the subject. I hope, therefore, that this chapter will not be condemned as a parade of useless learning or of misdirected ingenuity.

About 1790 English paper-makers began the practice of placing the watermark near the edge of their sheet. Before that date, such paper as has a watermark almost always has it on or near the centre of the half-sheet.* In addition to the principal mark—a crown, a fleur-de-lys, or the like—many sheets had also a smaller mark, called

* Why of the half-sheet? I suppose so that, in folio, it would be in the middle of a leaf.

the *countermark* and consisting, as a rule, of the maker's initials; this was placed on or near the centre of the other half-sheet.

The resultant incidence of the watermarks, when a sheet is variously folded, is well known and can be easily discovered, or recalled, by experiment In a sheet folded four times to make eight leaves, the watermark (if there is only one) will fall either on the first, fourth, fifth and eighth leaves (I have found it easy to remember "fourteen fifty eight"), or on the second, third, sixth and seventh. If there are two watermarks, one will fall on 1458, the other on 2367. If, again, as often happens, the watermark is eccentric to the half-sheet, being placed (on the longer diameter of the sheet, but) nearer the shorter side, it will be on the first and fourth leaves and/or the second and third only. In any case, it will be at or near the top inner margin of the folded sheet, and if it is small the binder's knife may remove it altogether from some leaves. But if it is truly placed at the centre of the half-sheet, then if the four leaves forming the half-sheet could be unfolded, we should get either (1), or if the top of the book had been trimmed then (2), of the diagram facing p. 38.

In (1) the dotted line represents the folding of the paper; in (2), the top edge having been cut, a horizontal strip has been cut from the middle of the watermark.

If, now, we should find either (3) or—in a half-sheet *not* watermarked—(4), we should safely infer the lower left-hand leaf to be a cancel. The test is only negatively valid. Cancels were usually printed on the paper used for the book, and a cancel might by accident have the right watermark in the right place; but if a watermark is certainly absent when it should be present, or present when it should certainly be absent, or is the wrong watermark, then the leaf is a cancel.

The first edition of the *Lives of the Poets—Prefaces Biographical and Critical to the Works of the English Poets*, 1779–81—is a very small octavo with one very large watermark and one smaller watermark. In the *Life of Young* in Volume X the fifth leaf of E is signed E5 and there is a stub (or stubs); E5 is doubtless a cancel. But let us look closer. On examination of two copies I find the watermarks as below:—

	FIRST COPY	SECOND COPY
E1	Large	Small
E2	Small	Large
E3	Small	Large
E4	Large	Small
E5	*Small*	*Large*
E6	Small	Large
E7	Small	Large
E8	Large	Small

Thus in both copies E5, and E5 only, has the wrong watermark. But my two copies are not otherwise identical. In one copy there is one stub only, between E5 and [E6], to which E5 is manifestly pasted. In the other copy there are two stubs, one before and one after E4, and I find no sign of paste. I infer that in the latter copy E5 was not pasted, but was sewn on a turnover of its own.

I repeat here from an article in the *Library** a more elaborate example. Dodsley's *Collection of Poems in Three Volumes*,† 1748, is a duodecimo imposed "for cutting"; that is, so that one-third of the sheet might be cut away, before folding, to form the inner four leaves of the quire; the remainder being folded octavo fashion. The imposition of the outer forme is shown in the diagram.

It will be seen that the watermark, if single, would fall either on the seventh and eighth leaves or on the eleventh and twelfth. In fact, most of the sheets were printed on a paper with two watermarks. Of these one is large, and, although my copy is cut, part of it is always discernible on both of the leaves on which it fell. The other (*A B* of the diagram) is smaller, and sometimes survives on one leaf only.

In the sheets of Volume II which were printed on this paper the incidence of the watermarks is

* December 1924, page 249.

† The first edition; there was another in the same year.

as follows (I give only those which are actually visible in my copy):—

LARGE WATERMARK			SMALL WATERMARK	
A11	A12		A7	
B8	B12		B11	
D7	D8			
F7	F8		F11	F12
G6	G7	G8	G11	
H11	H12		H7	H8
K7	K8		K11	
L7	L8		L12	
M7	M8		M11	
N11	N12		N8	
			O7	O8

I do not here use the watermarks as evidence of the cancels in this volume, which can be detected with certainty by other tests. I only point out that the watermarks behave as they should.

A8 would probably show the small watermark if it had it, for very little of it remains on A7. But A8 is a cancel.

Several leaves are cancelled in B. The leaf conjugate with B6 has been removed, a stub remaining; B7, therefore, was cancelled. But the existing B7 is conjugate with B5, which should be conjugate with B8; B5, therefore, must also be a cancel (the stub of the original B5 appears after B4, as it should). Finally, B12 is a cancel. It is

clear that the large watermark fell on B7 and B8, the small watermark on B11 and B12. The cancel B7 has no watermark, the cancel B12 (as it happens) has the large watermark.

G6 is a cancel; it is signed "Vol. II."

The apparent anomaly in O is due to the fact that the large watermark fell on O11 and O12, which, being blank, are absent from my copy.

The incidence of watermarks placed elsewhere than at or near the centre of the half-sheet has not, I think, been much studied. At the risk, therefore, of over-elaborating this aspect of my subject, I take next an illustration from a nineteenth-century book. In Peacock's *Melincourt*, 1817, duodecimo, I find that the watermark, a long and narrow one (the maker's name and the date), falls on the first and fourth leaves, or second and third, or third and fifth, or fourth and sixth. This is, I think, consistent with the diagram,* if the watermark ran parallel to the longer side of the sheet, and near it.† Now in D of Volume I

* The diagram being the picture of one forme gives the page numbers, not the folio numbers.

† Again, in *Lyrical Ballads*, 1800, octavo, I find the watermark (LLOYD, or LLOYD 1795) in the lower margin of the first and eighth leaves, or of the third and sixth (once, in my copy, of the second and seventh; but I think this sheet was upside-down and printed on the wrong side first). This means that the watermark was parallel to, and near, the longer side, but was central to the half-sheet.

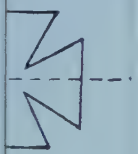
I find a watermark on D4 only. It begins on the lower part of D4, and if I am not mistaken it finished on D6. But D6, which in my copy has no watermark, is a cancel, signed Vol. I D6.

I add an illustration of the difficulty of making out, in a bound book, just what happened. In a friend's copy of *The Will of King Alfred*, Oxford, 1788, a quarto in half-sheets (so that B1 should

be conjugate with B2, C1 with C2, and so on), the first leaf is the title-page (verso blank); the second, signed A2, is *Preface*, pages [i]–ii; the third, unsigned, is *Preface*, page iii (verso blank); the fourth is *Preface*, pages iii–iv, page iv containing a postscript by another hand. Since in this copy the fourth leaf is slit for cancellation,* it is clear that page iv was rejected, and that the third leaf is the *cancellans*. I was allowed to take these leaves out, and I have had a sketch made showing the chain-lines and watermarks (third and fourth

* Plate IIb.

leaves). I read the watermark as I. TAYLOR, and it will be seen that the two leaves are virtually identical; that is, are the *same* piece of two *different* sheets. It is clear, too, that the chain-lines do not quite tally. But if the book had been inspected in its binding, both watermarks and chain-lines might well have been thought continuous.



ncut (2) cut
aper. In (2),
is reduced

VII

THE DETECTION OF CANCELS

IT will be convenient to recapitulate the various tests, already mentioned, by which the fact of cancellation can be established, and to add some others.

1. The best of all tests is ocular demonstration. If an unsophisticated copy of a book can be examined—a copy which has never been bound and therefore presumably has never been trimmed, which is lightly sewn and not pressed or coagulated with binder's paste—it is a simple matter to determine the relation of each leaf to its neighbours, and unless the problem is exceptionally complicated the solution should be easy and certain. When we are dealing with early books—say to 1750—these ideal conditions can hardly be obtained. We must do the best we can with books which, as a rule, do not belong to us, and which are too valuable to be pulled about. If possible, however, the investigator should have two or more copies before him at one time. From the late eighteenth century onwards unbound copies are generally to be had, and it is often mere waste of

time to examine bound copies. The ideal condition is the possession of a copy which has never been bound, but which is so dilapidated that its "condition" is not worth preserving. Before it is bound it should be handed to a bibliographer who has the patience to take it to pieces and will record that he has done so, and with what result.

2. A stub, if it *is* a stub (but see page 11), is certain evidence of a cancel. If, as often happens, a binder has removed all trace of stub, it is likely that there will be some evidence of paste; the leaves will often show some reluctance to open to the full extent. This is highly suspicious if there is no other reason* why paste should have been used.

A cancel can be pasted to either side of a stub. If, accordingly, a stub appears between A1 and A2, and it is not apparent which of these two leaves is pasted to it, we cannot tell which of them is the cancel, unless (which in a too-well bound book is unlikely) we can make out that the stub is conjugate with (say) A8, in which case A1 must be the cancel. But if another copy shows the stub between A2 and A3, we know that A2 is the cancel; it has been pasted to the right of the stub in the first copy, to the left of it in the second.

3. An eccentric signature, or *any* signature on a

* *E.g.* a binder may prefer to paste rather than to stitch an oddment of two, or even of four, leaves.

leaf which would not otherwise be signed, indicates a cancel. (See Chapter IV.)

4. The appearance of a "figure" which cannot be explained. In " printing with figures," a number (or other symbol) identifies the forme, or rather the press on which a forme was printed. If both formes were printed on the same press, one forme only may be numbered; so a sheet may show one or two "figures," but should not show more. Thus, in an octavo sheet we may find a figure, say 1, at the bottom of page 5, and another, say 2, at the bottom of page 14; but if we should find a third on page 16, we may suspect that either pages 5 and 6, or pages 15 and 16, are a cancel. This sounds complicated, but experiment with a piece of folded paper will make it clear. The chances are doubtless against the use of a "figure" in a cancel printed separately.*

5. A discrepancy in watermarks. (See Chapter VI.)

6. If, for any reason not yet specified, a leaf seems to be printed on paper which cannot have

* See *The Library*, December, 1922, page 175. I find an example in Boswell's *Hebrides*, at the place described above, page 13, of a cancel with a figure; $b8^{r}$ (the cancel for F5) has the figure 5. But the figure does not belong to the cancel as such; it is merely the figure for the forme; there is only one other figure in the sheet (4, on $b2^{v}$), and that marks the other forme.

formed part of the sheet as originally printed. The paper may be manifestly of different quality. The chain-lines on the paper may go the wrong way.* Horizontal chain-lines may fail to tally in a pair of leaves which should be conjugate. Vertical chain-lines may fail to tally as they should, *e.g.* in octavo the chain-lines of the first leaf should tally with those of the fourth. (But this last test can hardly be used with confidence except in an uncut book, and then is probably not wanted.)

7. Irregularity of printing or of margins. A cancel is more likely to show wrong-fount letters in the headline, or wrong-fount figures in the page number, than an original leaf; it is more likely to be "short" or "long" (but irregular length may be due to mere carelessness in "making-up" into pages, or in correction, or to deliberate avoidance of over-running †). Irregularity of margins may be due to faulty folding; but that should affect more leaves than one; if one leaf only of a sheet is noticeably eccentric in this respect, it is open to suspicion.

* In "laid" paper the chain-lines are almost always vertical in folio and octavo, horizontal in quarto; in duodecimo they vary, but are usually horizontal.

† I have often myself, in adjusting a proof, advised the printer to "leave long" a page slightly swollen by correction.

8. A cancel may be wrongly inserted. This has happened to a copy of Vol. III of Johnson's *Prefaces*, 1779, the cancel f8, pages 79–80, being placed the wrong way, so that the pagination runs 78, 80, 79, 81.

VIII

THE DISCOVERY OF *CANCELLANDA*

THIS is the final cause of our inquiry. But I have little to add to what has been said in Chapter II and elsewhere. There is no royal road to the discovery of minute fragments which, if they have survived, have survived oftener by their obscurity than because anyone cared to preserve them. To the individual investigator I have no advice to give except that he keep his eyes open, and omit no opportunity of examining a copy of any book which he knows to contain cancels. Even this advice it is not easy to follow; for not many of us can carry in our heads the exact positions of the cancels in many books. But in a narrow field a good deal may be done. In general, I would repeat my plea for the record and publication of ascertained cancels. The dice are loaded, as usual, in favour of the bookseller; he has the works of reference at hand, and many opportunities of examining the books which interest him. Yet prizes may be secured, even under the nose of a

bookseller. This I say to your comfort. But a good bibliographer, though he need not spurn a cheap investment, is chiefly concerned to get the facts; and this he can best do by putting others on the scent.

IX

MISCELLANEOUS EXAMPLES

I HAVE little first-hand knowledge of early cancels. Those on whose learning I rely tell me that the printers and publishers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seldom resorted to cancellation except to remove something that was objectionable for reasons of religion or politics. In other words, they did not go to the expense of a cancel unless they had printed something which they feared might get them into serious trouble. Of the mere susceptibilities of the author, or the demands of the reader, they were less careful. The author or publisher, if he felt any shame for *faults escaped*, thought he did enough if he supplied a list; and not infrequently he threw the blame on the printer in a preface which the printer, for his part, was humble enough, or brazen enough, to print without remonstrance. One wonders what would happen to-day if an author sent in a preface abusing his publisher or his printer.

As good an example as another of this indifference and this docility is Herrick's *Hesperides*, 1648.

Copies of this book have been found to vary; as so often happened, mistakes were spotted and corrected while sheets were on the press. But shocking misprints remained in all copies, for which the author prefixed a poetical apology:

For these Transgressions which thou here dost see,
Condemne the Printer, Reader, and not me;
Who gave him forth good Grain, though he mistook
The Seed; so sow'd these Tares throughout my Book.

Then follows a list of *Errata*.

This is normal. But *Hesperides* has also an unusual feature. For it has been pointed out that at least three leaves were cancelled in some copies, and that the improvements so made were purely literary. Thus a leaf was cancelled to restore, at page 176, a stanza of *The Wassaile* which had been altogether omitted in the first printing; and elsewhere minor blemishes were removed.*

Herrick seems to have been in advance of his time. But as England gained in prosperity and refinement, authors and even publishers grew more fastidious, printers more scrupulous, the public more exacting. The use of the cancel therefore became common, when something had been printed which could neither be ignored in silence nor confessed by an *erratum*. Johnson in his *Life*

* See A. W. Pollard in *The Library*, 1903, IV. pages 206 and 328.

of Savage has drawn an amusing picture of one author's particularity in this point:

> A superstitious regard to the correction of his sheets was one of Mr. Savage's peculiarities: he often altered, revised, recurred to his first reading or punctuation, and again adopted the alteration; he was dubious and irresolute without end, as on a question of the last importance, and at last was seldom satisfied: the intrusion or omission of a comma was sufficient to discompose him, and he would lament an error of a single letter as a heavy calamity.*

The Wanderer, 1729, contains only a single *Erratum;* but it has several cancels. Johnson himself, a more robust genius than Savage, who owned himself "no friend to scruples" and was little given to teasing afterthoughts, not infrequently asked his publisher for a cancel. Boswell's curiosity has made familiar one of his most trenchant and laconic ironies, all but obliterated in this way. In *Thoughts on the late Transactions respecting Falkland's Islands*, 1771, "the conclusion of Mr. George Grenville's character stood thus":

> Let him not, however, be depreciated in his grave; he had powers not universally possessed; if he could have got the money, he could have counted it.

* *Life of Mr. Richard Savage*, 1744.

This was more than North's nerves would stand, as Johnson wrote to Bennet Langton:

> Not many had been dispersed, before Lord North ordered the sale to stop. His reasons I do not distinctly know. You may try to find them in the perusal. Before his order, a sufficient number were dispersed to do all the mischief, though, perhaps, not to make all the sport that might be expected from it.*

Thus compelled to remove the sting, Johnson (perhaps hastily or contemptuously) substituted the lame conclusion:

> And if he sometimes erred, he was likewise sometimes right.

and K2 was cancelled accordingly. But a few copies survive of the original state.

A more intimate glimpse of an author's mind is furnished by the well-known cancel in the *Journey to the Western Islands*, 1775; for there the scruple was Johnson's own. The story has been often told; but in the interest of our subject it may be told again. Johnson describes with indignation how the cathedral church of Elgin was "shamefully suffered to dilapidate by deliberate robbery and frigid indifference," and how government ordered the lead to be stripped from the roof and

* 20th March, 1771.

sold. "I hope every reader will rejoice that this cargo of sacrilege was lost at sea." His sense of fairness, and his indignation at a sacrilege nearer home, led him to continue thus:

> Let us not, however, make too much haste to despise our neighbours. There is now, as I have heard, a body of men, not less decent or virtuous than the Scottish council, longing to melt the lead of an English cathedral. What they shall melt, it were just that they should swallow.

On the eve of publication Johnson's conscience misgave him, and he wrote* to William Strahan, printer and joint-publisher of the book:

> Sir,
>
> I waited on you this morning. . . . I came to consult you upon a little matter that gives me some uneasiness. In one of the pages there is a severe censure of the Clergy of an English Cathedral which I am afraid is just, but I have since recollected that from me it may be thought improper for the Dean did me a kindness about forty years ago. He is now very old, and I am not young. Reproach can do him no good, and in myself I know not whether it is zeal or wantonness.

* 30th November, 1774.

Can a leaf be cancelled without too much trouble? Tell me what I shall do. I have no settled choice, but I would not refuse to allow the charge. To cancel it seems the surer side. Determine for me.

I am, Sir,
Your most humble servant,
SAM: JOHNSON.

Tell me your mind, if you will cancel it I will write something to fill up the vacuum. Please to direct to the Borough.*

Johnson, as a professional, knew he must "fill up the vacuum." Otherwise, pages 47 and 48 must each have been "short" by some four lines. What he wrote was not less characteristic than his first thought, though it is less sharply pointed:

Let us not, however, make too much haste to despise our neighbours. Our own cathedrals are mouldering by unregarded dilapidation. It seems to be part of the despicable philosophy of the time to despise monuments of sacred magnificence, and we are in danger of doing that deliberately, which the Scots did not do but in the unsettled state of an imperfect constitution.

* Hill's *Letters of Johnson*, 364; corrected from the original.

Johnson's original text was preserved in manuscript, in a copy of the first edition which came to the Bodleian. But no uncancelled copy of the book has been recovered. Some years ago, however, Mr. R. B. Adam acquired a loose copy of the original leaf D8.* It is slit for cancellation, and its preserver has added this note:

> This Leaf was cancelled by the Author and is reckoned curious on Account of this last Paragraph. Lichfield is the Cathedral alluded to.†

Cancels are frequent in works of imagination. They are still commoner in works of scholarship, particularly if the scholar is fastidious, or prone to vacillation. In the *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 1765, a very difficult subject-matter encountered a hesitant, timid, and yet in some respects unscrupulous editor. We can track Percy in some of his shifts and doublings, for Richard Farmer had a copy in which two of the three volumes were in their uncancelled state, and this is now in the Bodleian. Mr. L. F. Powell treads the maze with learning and humour.‡ The ruling motive for the cancels was delicacy. In the second volume, at N7, a cancel was printed to change

* Plate Ia.

† Mr. Adam possesses also the letter to Strahan.

‡ In *The Library*, September, 1928, pages 113–137. Mr. Powell breathes life into these dry bones.

Jesus God! what a griefe is this?

into the tamer

"Out alas!" What a griefe is this.

But Percy was not without a conscience. The quotation marks are his confession of editorial tampering.

More sweeping changes were made in U of the same volume, where cancel-signatures abound. The Farmer copy shows that "Cock Lorel's Treat," "The Moral Uses of Tobacco," and "Old Simon the King" originally occupied the leaves U2 to U7. Two of these pieces will be found in the supplement, of Loose and Humorous Songs, to Furnivall and Hales's edition of the Percy Folio. But Percy took them all out, and filled the chasm with "The Heir of Lynne." X4 was reprinted to soften "the merciless zeal of the saints of Westminster," who destroyed Charing Cross, to "the merciless zeal of the times."

To Mr. Powell I owe also the solution, or a hint of the solution, of another editorial secret. The exposure of the Rowley forgeries is associated with the names of a number of scholars, but primarily with that of Thomas Tyrwhitt, who edited the poems in 1777, and in 1778 added "an Appendix containing some observations upon the language of these poems; tending to prove, that they were written, not by any ancient author, but

entirely by Thomas Chatterton." This appendix he later "vindicated" in a substantial pamphlet. His contemporaries, however, regarded Tyrwhitt as a late and even a reluctant convert to the Chattertonian heresy. Tyrwhitt, wrote Johnson,* "still persists in his edition of the poems, and perhaps is not much pleased to find himself mistaken." Steevens tells us that Tyrwhitt was convinced as soon as he visited Bristol and "examined the many-coloured 'Rolles' (those *simiae vetustatis*)," but that "nevertheless, he resolved to proceed in printing the Poems, which had been already purchased (as curiosities of dubious character) by his recommendation."† Tyrwhitt's own preface, which he retained unaltered even after he had added the appendix, was studiously neutral in tone; he preferred, he says, to leave the question of authenticity—

> to the determination of the unprejudiced and intelligent Reader. . . . Whether the Poems be really antient, or modern; the compositions of Rowley, or the forgeries of Chatterton; they must always be considered as a most singular literary curiosity.

Now Nichols‡ informs us that:

* 5th June, 1776.
† *Gentleman's Magazine*, LVIII. i. 188.
‡ *Literary Anecdotes*, IX. 530 *note*.

> Mr. Tyrwhitt changed his opinions after his volume was actually completed at the press; and canceled *several sheets* which had been printed to demonstrate that the Poems were genuine.

The only cancel known to Mr. Powell or to myself, in the edition of 1777, is c4, the *Advertisement*. Mr. Powell has traced a copy of the original state of this leaf; but the change was of wording, not of substance. But, as we have seen,* the cancellation of entire sheets is a process which can be completed at once; and if Tyrwhitt really executed a *volte-face* at the last moment, he would naturally take what precautions he could.

Of all cancels those are the most important which result from some belated crisis in poetical composition. Our subject attains its highest interest in relation to the great poets of the nineteenth century. The story of *Lyrical Ballads*, 1798, octavo, is a complicated story; and nothing can be added here to the account given by Mr. Wise in his bibliographical works.† But the history of the book affords a very interesting example of the motives for cancellation and of the way it was done. On the eve of publication it was realised that *Lewti* was well known to be Coleridge's, and

* Page 5.

† *E.g.* in *Two Lake Poets*, 1927, pages 3–6.

that its inclusion must betray the cherished secret of authorship. Pages 63–68 therefore had to disappear, and the *Contents* leaf to be altered. To fill the gap the authors first chose a piece by the elder Beddoes, and Mr. Wise's unique copy contains it. But this was in its turn discarded, and *The Nightingale* substituted. To get in the new poem it was necessary to print four leaves, which replaced the last leaf of D and the first two leaves of E in the original sheets. The cancels bear no signature, so that there is now no leaf signed E. The difficulty of pagination was not serious, and was solved without the use of stars. *The Nightingale* ends on page 69; but as the original 69 (the first page of *The Female Vagrant*) was not numbered, there is no great awkwardness. The sequence of numbers is 69, blank, blank, 70.

Another change had a motive of a different kind. In the *Lines Written at a Small Distance from my House* the seventh stanza originally ran thus:

> One moment now may give me more
> Than fifty years of reason;
> Our minds shall drink at every pore
> The spirit of the season.

G1 was cancelled to alter the second line to

> Than years of toiling reason.

This change must have been made after publica-

tion, for the *cancellandum* survived in a good many copies.

A third change, that of the title-page, was due to a cause not in the authors' control. Cottle, of Bristol, who had bought the copyright, sold the edition, within a fortnight of publication, to J. and A. Arch, of Gracechurch Street. Arch cancelled the title-page,* and the survivors with the Bristol title-page are the blackest of black swans.

The second edition of *Lyrical Ballads*, 1800, two volumes octavo, is a composite work. It is the second edition of Volume I, and the first to contain the famous *Preface*. The second volume is entirely new. Here is another interesting study. There are cancels in the second volume, where the printer had made a serious muddle of *Michael*, and three leaves were printed to replace two (with the use, this time, of starred page-numbers). The opportunity was taken to reprint the final leaf and to enlarge the list of *Errata*. No doubt a half-sheet was printed carrying the four leaves. This cancellation must have been after publication, for uncancelled copies are not rare. But there is a cancel in the first volume, the original

* At the same time he excised the leaf carrying Cottle's advertisements; and though copies occur with the Arch title-page and the Cottle advertisements, yet a copy with the Arch title-page and no advertisements should not be regarded as imperfect.

of which seems to have survived in one copy only. On the second page of the *Preface* Wordsworth had thanked Coleridge not only for his contribution (1798) to the first volume of *The Ancient Mariner* and other pieces, but also for

> the Poem of Christabel, without which I should not yet have ventured to present a second volume to the public.

But alas! as Coleridge himself wrote when, sixteen years later, he published *Christabel, Kubla Khan, and The Pains of Sleep*, "Σαμερον αδιον ασω: but the to-morrow is yet to come." *Christabel* was not ready; and a3 (pages v–vi) had to be cancelled. Mr. Wise has a copy, presumed unique, in which the new a3 (the recto of which begins the *Preface*) has not been substituted for the old a3, but simply put in front of it. But for the accident which preserved the *cancellandum*, this curious fragment of literary history would have been lost. In my own copy I should not have expected to detect a cancel, though once I knew a3 to be a cancel I noticed suspicious signs of paste between a3 and a4, and the fact that page vi is a line short.

The student of cancels lingers, fascinated, over the first editions of Wordsworth's greatest books. *Poems in Two Volumes*, 1807, duodecimo, is not less interesting than the two editions of *Lyrical*

Ballads. Once more Mr. Wise can show a unique copy which tells us what happened. Otherwise the cancels D11 and D12 in the first volume (the first of the two leaves is signed Vol. I. D11) would have obscured the fact that the stanza which begins—

> Stern Daughter of the Voice of God—

was in part an afterthought. The poem was recast; the last stanza became the first; the lines—

> Stern Daughter of the Voice of God!
> O Duty! if that name thou love
> Who art a Light to guide, a Rod
> To check the erring, and reprove;

originally stood thus:

> O Power of Duty! sent from God
> To enforce on earth his high behest,
> And keep us faithful to the road
> Which conscience hath pronounc'd the best;

Few of the minor accidents of authorship reach this level of interest. But the bibliography of the nineteenth century is full of entertaining anecdotes of cancellation. One of Scott's earliest efforts, *Goetz of Berlichingen, with the Iron Hand*, translated from Goethe, was published in 1799 by J. Bell, of 148, Oxford Street, and purported to be by "William Scott, Esq. Advocate, Edinburgh." The title-page was, of course, cancelled

—and there is no "William" in the Advocates' Library; but some copies got out, and a few have been traced. Shelley cancelled a leaf of *Prometheus Bound* because he could not bear the spelling *Misellaneous*. Mr. Wise has discovered or recorded Byron's numerous tinkerings with his text and notes, much of which was done by cancel. Swinburne's anguish over printers' errors found relief in the same expedient. As bibliography pursues its harmless activities, many more such discoveries will doubtless be made—always important to collectors, and sometimes deserving the notice of students of literature.

APPENDIXES

I—CANCELS DISTINGUISHING ISSUES
II—FRAUDULENT CANCELLATION

CANCELS DISTINGUISHING ISSUES

WHEN the need for cancellation was discovered after publication, both cancelled and uncancelled copies will be regularly found to survive. An example is the first authorized edition of Prior's *Poems on Several Occasions*, 1709, octavo. We are bound in such a case to recognize priority of issue, though it may be difficult or impossible to determine the order of the issues—except that a wholly uncancelled copy must be of the first issue. Prior cancelled two leaves of his dedication (to make verbal improvements) and two leaves of the text (to correct a wrong date and the absurd misprint *Latinè reditum* for *Latinè redditum*). I have seen the book in three states:

(1) uncancelled;
(2) dedication cancelled, text uncancelled;
(3) four leaves cancelled;

and there may be intermediate states.

If, on the other hand, the arrangements for cancellation were made before publication, so that

the survival (if any) of an uncancelled copy is due to accident, or was at least abnormal and unauthorized, it is a question whether it is worth while to attempt to discriminate issues. *Lyrical Ballads*, 1798, with the London title-page is generally called second issue, the black tulip with the Bristol title-page being called first. But Mr. Wise shows that there were intermediate stages; for cancellation was not of the title-page only, and there were second intentions about *Lewti*. It is often simplest and safest to describe a copy as having such-and-such states of such-and-such leaves. In Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands*, 1775, two leaves were cancelled, D8 and U4. One copy of the original D8 has been unearthed (see page 49), none (so far) of the original U4; and we do not know whether there were two acts and dates of cancellation or one only. Because the D8 cancel has become notorious, cataloguers often describe ordinary copies as "second issue." But they may be third, and the second may have perished. Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, has at least seventeen cancels, and if, as is likely enough, copies differ, it would pass the patience—if not the wit—of man to discriminate issues. It is best, I think, in general to regard the originally *published* form of a book as a first edition without qualification, and to regard the accidental survivors of pre-publication *cancellanda* as precious

freaks. Perhaps the analogy of handicaps may be called in aid; we recognize the plus man as well as the scratch man.

FRAUDULENT CANCELLATION

I KNOW of two practices which may be so described. The first is the substitution of a "second edition" cancel-title, to convert the sheets of a first edition into a spurious second. The *History of Mecklenburg*, 1762, which Goldsmith is said to have revised, was reissued by Newbery in the same year with a title-page bearing the words "Second Edition." But the sheets are those of the first edition, and the title is a cancel. Newbery no doubt expected the book to sell as topical; it has a handsome portrait of "Charlotte, Queen of Great Britain, &c." (the royal marriage was solemnized in September, 1761); but he seems to have been disappointed, and to have made a spirited effort to restore public confidence by pretending to have sold out his first edition.* I suspect that this kind of fraud was not uncommon.

Another type of substitution is due not to the greed of publishers, but to the anxiety of anonymous persons to give the collector what he wants. The favourite device is the recancellation of a cancel-title and the apparent restoration of an

* *The Library*, September, 1927, page 266.

earlier and rarer state.* *Poems by Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell*, 1846, octavo, was published with the imprint of Aylott and Jones in Paternoster Row. It is well known that hardly a copy was sold. In 1848, after the publication of *Jane Eyre*, Smith Elder took over the sheets of the *Poems* and reissued them with their imprint (but retaining the date 1846). The Smith Elder title is a cancel, pasted to the second (*Contents*) leaf; for the "preliminary" was of two leaves only. When the original title-page was fraudulently reprinted,† the forger ignorantly or impudently replaced the title only. But in the original Aylott-Jones issue the first two leaves were, of course, a conjugate pair; so that the fraud can at once be detected.‡ It seldom happens that forgers know enough, or take enough trouble, to escape detection by experts; but they "get away with it" in so far that the gullible are gulled.

* By far the commonest form of faking is the "restoration" of an imperfect copy by the addition of a forged, or otherwise "wrong," half-title. But this cannot be called cancellation. (An American collector, offered one of Jane Austen's books with one half-title too many, returned it with the comment "This is too good *even for me*.")

† Sometimes on the blank leaf from the end of the book, so that the paper is right.

‡ T. J. Wise, *A Brontë Library*, 1929, page 9; or *Ashley Library Catalogue* IX., page 21. (I neglect the Smith Elder advertisement leaf, which does not affect my point.)

One of the rarest of Shelley's early pieces is *St. Irvyne ; or, the Rosicrucian : A Romance. By a Gentleman of the University of Oxford*, 1811, duodecimo. The half-title and title form a single pair of leaves. Very few copies were sold; and later the publisher, J. J. Stockdale, issued the remainder with a cancel title (and no half-title) dated 1822. The modern history of the pamphlet is told by Mr. Wise in his best manner:

> Thirty or forty years ago, when I was searching for first editions of the works of Shelley, copies of *St. Irvyne* with the original title of 1811 were extremely uncommon, whilst copies with the second title of 1822 were fairly abundant. But during recent years the latter have largely disappeared, and have gradually found their way back into the market, furnished with forged 1811 title-pages, and are masquerading as examples of the First Issue. Bound copies of the book, particularly if the binding be modern, should accordingly be examined with the minutest care.*

Another notorious example is the "1913 *Chance*." Here again the disclosure of the fraud is due to Mr. Wise's patience and acumen. The original intention was to publish Conrad's book in 1913; but publication was postponed, and the

* *A Shelley Library*, 1924, page 33.

title-page and bibliographical note were cancelled to alter the date. But a few copies had been distributed with the original leaf, and the demand for this rarity has stimulated supply. The forger, however (forgetting Mr. Wise), was content to reprint the title-page only and to paste it to a stub. Once it is pointed out that in the real 1913 *Chance* the title-page is an integral part of the first half-sheet, it is apparent that copies with a cancel-title (dated 1913) are fraudulent. A second attempt was made, the pair of leaves being reprinted; but Mr. Wise was still not satisfied. He pointed out that this was typographically a facsimile of the 1914 title-page and bibliographical note (with the date altered), not of the 1913 title-page and bibliographical note, and that the two were not identical.

ADDENDUM

THE "OXFORD" JOHNSON, 1825

A GOOD example of cancellation brought to a system is furnished by *The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. In Nine Volumes. Oxford. Printed for William Pickering, London; and Talboys and Wheeler, Oxford.*

The nine volumes are all dated 1825. But the prospectus tells us that the work "will be published in volumes; one of which will appear on

the First day of November, 1824, and one on the First of every succeeding month, until the whole be completed."

Volume IX was issued, like the rest, in cloth boards with printed labels. It contains at the end, sewn like the rest of the sheets, a large number of cancels for Volumes II and III. These volumes had already been issued to subscribers; but a *locus poenitentiae* remained, for sets would not be sent to the binder until the last volume was delivered. Accordingly the cancels were sent out as part of Volume IX; and these were preceded by a slip, directing the binder thus:—

The Binder is desired to insert the following Cancels, given at the end of Vol. IX.

Vol. II.—vii, 173, 275, 295.—Printed as a half sheet. iii, 123, 225, 255, 261, 353, 388, 457.—A sheet.

Vol. III.—7, 9, 17, 23, 67, 97, 103, 109.—Ditto. 157, 227, 233, 321, 423, 441, 457, 459.—Ditto.

N.B.—The binder may find some of the above inserted *in some copies, which he need not displace.*

Careful as this document is, it contains an error; iii is a mistake for 111!

The publishers of the Oxford English Classics "grounded their principal claim on the patronage of this University, and of the literary world in general" on "CORRECTNESS OF TEXT." These cancels, as far as I have examined them,

suggest that 1825 could be as meticulous as a later age. One cancel leaf restores a missing comma, and its apostrophe to *my aunt's* (but introduces *sliness* for *slyness*); in another the only improvement is *the remarks of Bias* for the (not very puzzling) misprint *there marks of Bias*.

The Oxford Johnson has another interest. The casing is neat and careful, the cloth durable, the labels well printed and symmetrically placed, the sewing excellent, the pasting of the end papers orderly. My own set, which is undisturbed, still makes a creditable appearance, though the backs are somewhat faded. Yet the assumption seems to have persisted that sets would, as a matter of course, be sent to "the Binder"; and the publishers distribute without apology, in Volume IX, twenty-eight leaves of cancels, an *Advertisement* which "must be placed in Vol. I," and an instruction that a preface "must" be moved from Vol. VIII to Vol. VII.

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